EUROPE EYES McCARTHY by ALEX COMFORT

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THE Nation

April 11, 1953
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Toward Peace?

Hunting Booby Traps

An Editorial

Diplomacy's Hour

J. Alvarez del Vayo

Moscow-Peking Axis — *Alexander Werth*

$25 Billion Bonanza — *Bruce Catton*

Winthrop W. Aldrich — *Egon Poboryles*

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

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Around the U.S.A.

Professors Prepare for Action

Chicago

THE thirty-ninth annual meeting of the American Association of University Professors, held here on March 27 and 28, strengthened the basic policy of the association by passing a resolution condemning the dismissal of faculty members who invoke the Fifth Amendment to avoid answering the questions of legislative committees.

At a first-night dinner the delegates applauded a scathing attack on Congressional probes and university administrators who advocate "welcoming" them by Alan Barth, editorial writer for the Washington *Post* and author of "The Loyalty of Free Men." Barth urged partisans of academic freedom to take the offensive in the fight for intellectual independence. At the business session the next morning the delegates heard the report of the committee on academic freedom and tenure.

The final session in the afternoon started harmoniously enough with the resolutions committee making its report. On its recommendation several resolutions passed in previous years were reaffirmed and in some cases strengthened. One of these—adopted in 1947—declared that professional competence and integrity should be the tests of fitness of a member of the academic profession and that a teacher who is guilty of a legally defined subversive act should be dismissed, provided his guilt is established by due process of law. Last year's resolution on the subject and the one presented this year by the committee declared that a teacher who misuses his classes for propaganda purposes should be dismissed if guilt is established by due process, but this provision was removed by an amendment offered from the floor. Supporters of the amendment said "propaganda" was a vague term and expressed fear that routine teaching of controversial doctrines might be included under it by some administrations.

Also reaffirmed without basic changes were resolutions condemning the use of legislative investigations to smear individuals for past or present lawful political activities or personal associations, condemning censorship of textbooks by groups or individuals outside the profession, urging fewer governmental restrictions on American scholars going abroad and foreign ones coming to this country, criticizing unethical practices in intercollegiate athletics, and advocating primary control of athletic programs by academic faculties.

A new resolution passed by the meeting indorsed a statement by the Princetin University chapter opposing political investigations of universities and deplored "the failure of many of our educational, religious, and political leaders to define the true nature of this growing threat to our intellectual and spiritual heritage or to protest against it."

• A long debate was touched off when the committee recommended passage of a resolution stating that invoking the Fifth Amendment did not "in and of itself" justify dismissal of a faculty member if his stand was accepted as valid by the investigating body. The resolution added that this was not to be considered an indorsement of invoking the amendment, "since complex legal and ethical questions are involved." An attempt to amend the resolution by striking out the words "in and of itself" was defeated by a narrow margin.

Then a small group headed by the Northwestern and Ohio State delegations proposed an amendment to defer action on the resolution and send it to the Council, the governing body of the A. A. U. P., for further consideration. These opponents of immediate action claimed that the right to refuse to answer questions under the Fifth Amendment had not been clearly established, and that by supporting it the A. A. U. P. might provoke passage by state legislatures of additional "anti-subversive" bills aimed at colleges. Backers of the resolution argued that immediate action was necessary, thirty-seven college teachers having already been dismissed for invoking the amendment. The attempt to block action was defeated by a vote of about three to one.

• It became clear at the final session that many chapters were not satisfied with the record of the national office and its staff, headed by Ralph E. Himstead, general secretary, in defending dismissed teachers and otherwise implementing the program of the organization. After the report of the resolutions committee, the dissatisfaction burst forth in a variety of suggestions and complaints. Most of the speakers assured Himstead that they were not criticizing him personally or the members of his staff but were motivated by a sincere desire to strengthen the association.

Many of the complaints came from campuses which had experienced dismissals involving academic freedom. The delegates said that they were not kept informed about how the national office was handling these cases and that a local chapter found it hard to get the facts it needed for its own activity in behalf of dismissed teachers. The lack of internal democracy and vertical coordination was cited repeatedly.

In rebuttal Himstead charged that the local chapters were often lax in supporting their members in dismissal cases and were negligent in keeping the national office informed of their own activities. As the heated session ground on into the dinner hour, verbal exchanges between the floor and the platform became increasingly caustic. In the end the rank-and-file delegates carried the day and forced the appointment of three special committees. One is to examine the A. A. U. P. *Bulletin* with a view to making it a more effective instrument of communication among the local chapters and between them and the national office. Another will study the structure of the national office to see how it can be modernized and its efficiency increased. A third will recommend ways of implementing a "vigorous nationwide program of public enlightenment on the nature and utility of academic freedom," possibly including sponsorship of radio and television forums and cooperation with other organizations in waging the domestic war of ideas.

ALAN WHITNEY

[*Alan Whitney is political editor of the Chicago Northside Newspapers.*]

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THE Nation
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EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things

The Case of the Fifteen

Of all the moves emanating from Moscow, Bucharest, and points East, none has been more startling than the release of the fifteen Russian doctors who had been arrested on charges of killing and plotting to kill Soviet officials. To an outsider looking in, this abrupt reversal appeared as contrived as the original arrests. For with the freeing of the doctors and the announcement by the Ministry of Internal Affairs that the accusations against them had been false, the whole Jewish-Zionist conspiracy story collapsed.

If the doctors are not guilty, presumably the anti-Soviet plots attributed to the "Joint" and the Zionist movement, with which the doctors were linked, are also non-existent. And if this is what the Soviet authorities are announcing by the release of the fifteen, their action becomes as important a political move as were the charges and arrests. It implies a repudiation of the whole anti-Zionist, anti-Israel, anti-Semitic policy built upon them. This would seem to be confirmed by the fact that the Kremlin accuses those alleged to be responsible for the false arrests with having aroused "national hostilities," a most significant phrase.

If this is so we should welcome the change and not worry too much about the motives which may lie behind it. Whatever internal political implications it may have, its meaning in the context of the current peace offensive would be clear. It would in effect be an assurance that sympathy or even relations with "outside" movements are no longer regarded as evidence of treasonable plotting against the regime. Nothing could be a more convincing token than this of a desire to relax tension.

We shall soon know if such an interpretation is valid. Israel's formal statement that it "would welcome the resumption of normal relations" with the Soviet Union will provide an early test of the real purpose behind the freeing of the Russian doctors.

Collision in Wall Street

Last week a Wall Street doctrine collided with a Wall Street axiom, producing a sad sense of frustration among orthodox financial commentators. The doctrine is that government spending and business interests are mutually incompatible, from which it follows that a cut in the defense program should induce greater prosperity. The axiom is that the verdict of the stock market represents a consensus of business opinion.

Obviously something was wrong, therefore, when the market broke sharply on prospects of a Korean armistice and incautious brokers started to talk about "a peace scare." For if the above-mentioned doctrine is valid, then peace, which might mean less spending and lower taxes, must prove a blessing to business. Yet if the axiom is correct, the doctrine appears to be challenged by business opinion since stock-market action showed a serious lack of confidence about the continuance of prosperity.

The Wall Street Journal of March 31 spotted this dichotomy and tackled it bravely. Denouncing as "idiotic" the idea "that prosperity is made by government spending and that if peace stops the war-spending the prosperity will collapse," it pointed out that the stock market fell just as sharply when the Korean war started: in both cases there was a "cautious reaction to prospects of great change." If the war stops, this authority continued, there may be a decline in business, but it will be coincidence rather than cause and effect. The real reason for a recession would be overproduction of consumer goods in spite of the diversion of productive capacity to arms-making. But is not this just another way of saying that in ordinary times industry finds buying-power inadequate: that if the government ceases to utilize as much of its surplus capacity as in the recent past, industry sees no alternative to curtailing operations and cutting down new investment—moves that could quickly start a new vicious circle of deflation?

The Voice of Appeasement

The danger that divisions in the ranks of educators will be exploited by those who seek to control American education is emphasized by the opposing positions recently taken by the American Association of University Professors (see our inside front cover) and the Association of American Universities. The latter represents the Ivy League—the most richly endowed, and presumably the most independent, of the private institutions. In a report released on March 31 it holds that present mem-

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bership in the Communist party "extinguishes" the right to teach and warns that those who invoke the Fifth Amendment must prove their continued fitness to teach. By dissociating itself from the position taken by the A. A. U. P. on these crucial issues, the A. A. U. has weakened the academic resistance to Congressional pressures by dividing it. Even more significant is its announcement that universities have a duty to cooperate with Messrs. Velde and Jenner—a policy described by Alan Barth at the A. A. U. P. convention as "utterly disastrous," since it cannot be assumed that the investigations will be fair or that the purpose is to find facts rather than to coerce opinion.

The circumstances connected with the release of the A. A. U. report are even more disturbing than its contents. It came right on the heels of the A. A. U. P. convention, as though the intention were to undercut the courageous stand of the professors. Hailed by the reactionary press as the definitive answer to "leftists and phony liberals" the report has been mistakenly regarded by many thousands of readers as an official statement on behalf of the entire academic community, including the A. A. U. P. membership. But even if its intentions were good, the report is a striking illustration of what the London *Economist* of March 21 considered an "appeasement" tendency on the part of American educators. The universities, it remarked, "have at best praised the investigations with faint damns. As some cynics have said, American university officials have assured the world that there will be no witch hunts, because they will tolerate no witches. Whether this policy of yielding an inch at every attack in the hope of saving the eventual mile will succeed in the long run is subject to debate. But if the time finally comes when a determined stand is necessary, will the moral courage of American academic people not be found to have been fatally undermined by . . . a series of calculated surrenders?"

Easter in Madrid

Using Holy Week as a pretext, Dictator Franco canceled the celebration of the anniversary of his defeat of the Republic. His real reason, however, was not piety but his preoccupation with the worsening relations between the army and the Falange. The army is becoming more and more irritated with its rival, and the Falangist leaders, as several of them showed in speeches delivered on the eve of the anniversary, are unwilling to be relegated to a secondary role.

Some of the army leaders have always hated the Falange. Others are becoming anti-Falange in the degree that they are becoming anti-Franco. It is easier for them, and safer too, to attack the Generalissimo through the party than to attack him directly. Many local incidents have taken place between the rival bodies, and it was a

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measure of prudence to avoid bringing them together, en masse, for the anniversary ceremonies.

Franco is in a bad mood. The prospect of diminished international tension has produced a real panic in Madrid. The Spanish radio and press devote themselves largely to warning the United States not to soften its policy toward Russia, fearful that any agreement will postpone indefinitely the signing of the bilateral treaty exchanging bases for dollars. The Madrid radio at present discharges its chief fury at Great Britain and France, but if the United States withholds dollars, its turn will come. For that it will suffice to revive the articles in *Arriba,* Franco's personal organ, during World War II, which anticipated with joy "the day when the arrogant New York skyscrapers will be smashed to pieces by the gallant German air force."

Hunting Booby Traps

BY THIS time deeds have been piled on words at such a rate that political dopesters here and abroad are having trouble keeping up with the Russian peace offensive. Skepticism still survives, especially in Washington—as witness Mr. Dulles's remarks at his press conference last week—but evidence from every Communist headquarters points in a single direction: Moscow is ready to go to almost fantastic lengths to settle outstanding feuds. If the truce talks proceed without serious hitch at Panmunjom, even the most doubting officials will find it hard—and politically dangerous—to maintain a stand-offish attitude.

However Washington is still talking cold war—and letting the Communist governments appear as peacemakers. A diplomat at the United Nations remarked the other day, "It looks as if Dwight Eisenhower's campaign pledge to try to end the Korean war is now going to be fulfilled—by Mao Tse-tung and Malenkov." It would be heartening if our psychological-warfare chiefs would cling a little less affectionately to that word warfare. They devoted themselves so assiduously to cold-war propaganda that they are practically dumbfounded by the prospect of peace.

Our State and Defense Departments have been feverishly engaged in hunting booby traps. General Mark Clark, U. N. Supreme Commander for Korea, in his reply to the initial Communist proposal insisted that when the truce teams met again at Panmunjom the exchange of sick and wounded captives must be the first order of business. Only after clarification of that issue, he said, could the armistice talks be resumed. If General Clark or his superiors in Washington had read the Peking statement carefully, they would have noticed that the Communists had agreed to Clark's demand before he made it. In his offer Chinese Premier Chou En-lai said, "We consider that *subsequent* upon the reasonable settlement of the question of sick and injured prisoners of war, it is entirely a matter of course that a smooth solution of the whole question of prisoners of war should be achieved."

Washington's next reaction was to detect something sinister in the fact that Peking sent its offer to the United Nations instead of to General Clark. Was this another trick to use the U. N. as a forum for Red propaganda? Nobody seems to have remembered that last December the President of the Assembly, Canada's Lester Pearson, had forwarded to Peking India's celebrated resolution on war prisoners. To sober diplomats it seemed proper for Peking to address to Mr. Pearson a message which went far toward accepting the once-rejected offer.

President Eisenhower and Secretary Dulles are exercising an obvious duty in taking precautions against ambiguities or tricks in the Communist approach. But we should also be protected against a mentality which is so immersed in the search for Red shenanigans that it may risk letting Korean peace elude us.

In their tactics the Communists have taken a leaf from Dean Acheson's book. During the week preceding their big concession on the voluntary repatriation of war prisoners, the Communist forces had engaged in their most ambitious offensive in Korea for a long time. By capturing Old Baldy, one of the gateways to Seoul on the western sector of the front, they won a marked local success. It has enabled them, in the best Acheson tradition, to claim that they are now "negotiating from strength."

THE COMMUNIST suggestions, first to exchange sick and wounded captives and next to exchange war prisoners generally on the voluntary principle, meet the U. N. proposals. In another field the Russians have not merely spoken but acted by accepting Sweden's Dag Hammarskjold as successor to Trygve Lie. They have also sprung a surprise by apparently taking a step toward the United States position on arms limitation and atomic control. These are only a few of the links in the chain of peace overtures from Moscow in the past five weeks.

When we turn to the motives prompting this shift, we are once more in the mists of surmise. We do not feel too unhappy about that, for it puts us on the same level as our intelligence services, which, with immense means at their disposal to do better, have been bewilderedly trying to decipher the Russian tea leaves.

The prevailing explanation is that Malenkov and Co. want a breathing space abroad that will allow them to consolidate their position at home. This may be an oversimplification. There are certain indications that the new course of Soviet policy was charted under Stalin. Some weeks before his death Soviet diplomats in Washington were telling their non-Communist colleagues and Amer-

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ican journalists that the time was ripe for improving Russian-American relations. Around the dinner table they went on to say that President Eisenhower, thanks to his military repute and to his strength in Congress and the country, might be better qualified than was the Truman-Acheson team to reopen negotiations with Moscow.

The timing of the Communist political moves may also have a logic unrelated to the death of Stalin. They have come a few weeks before the Eisenhower Administration's defense budget and foreign-aid bill go to Congress. Moscow may be right in anticipating that if we have a Korean armistice and then move into other fields of negotiation, members of Congress will feel growing public pressure to slash federal spending, reduce taxes, and stretch out our rearmament timetable. Moreover, the truism still holds that the U. S. S. R. and China have an enormous stake in creating conditions favorable to their peaceful internal development.

What should be the American response? Unfortunately, Washington anticipated its own reply—though not irrevocably. At an earlier stage of the truce talks the U. N. and Chinese-North Korean negotiators agreed that a high-level political conference should be held within three months after an armistice became effective. That conference would negotiate the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Korea, the settlement of the Korean question, "et cetera." The U. N. stipulated that "et cetera" should not be construed as relating to matters outside Korea.

Washington thus ruled out all discussion of such relevant Far Eastern issues as the seating of Communist China in the U. N., recognition of the Peking government, and the future of Formosa. Yet wiser persons know a lasting accommodation on Korea is possible only as part of a broad East Asian understanding. If we genuinely want such an understanding, we must be ready to widen future political discussions to encompass the whole Far Eastern problem.

New Deal at the U.N.

Other than the *pro forma* notification of his $10,000-a-year life pension, there is little in his last few days in office that Trygve Lie will be able to recall with any great pleasure. Most of the period was taken up with the General Assembly debate on the witch hunt among the American members of the Secretariat. Of the more than two-score countries participating, nearly 90 per cent were in one way or another critical of Lie's handling of the issue. The only countries besides the United States which supported him unreservedly appear to have been Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Panama, and San Salvador.

In the end the Assembly narrowly approved a resolution, cosponsored by the Americans and most of the other major Western powers, which expressed faith that the Secretary General would abide by the employment principles set forth in the United Nations Charter and Staff Regulations. But even this could afford Mr. Lie little satisfaction. The delegates already knew, when they voted, that the Secretary General in whom they were expressing faith would not be Mr. Lie. Moreover, it is habitual with diplomats—particularly Western ones—to vote more moderately than they think. Some of Mr. Lie's sharpest critics supported the resolution, including France, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Sweden.

BUT IT would be a mistake to think that the Assembly considered Mr. Lie to be the sole villain. Mr. Lie did only what the Americans wanted him to do. When M. Hoppenot of France opposed the dismissal of international servants on the vague grounds of "disloyalty" to their country, or on the ground that they were "likely" to engage in subversive activities, or because of acts or associations prior to their service with the U. N., he was attacking a formula designed not by Mr. Lie but by the Americans. And when Mr. von Balluseck of the Netherlands denied that Secretariat members should be dismissed automatically when they used their constitutional privilege against self-incrimination in official inquiries, he was attacking a concept invented by the Americans, not by Mr. Lie. And when Mr. Jebb of Great Britain ridiculed the whole idea of the U. N. as a "security area" —"member governments do not, as we know, intrust their vital secrets to the Secretariat"—he was ridiculing not Mr. Lie, who on the record agrees, but the Americans.

Of course, nobody attacked the United States explicitly. On the contrary, speaker after speaker made the point that the standards laid down for the conduct of its citizens by any country were purely a domestic matter of no concern to the United Nations. The issue is not whether the United States has the right to demand that all its citizens employed by the U. N. have blue eyes; the issue is whether the United Nations, an international organization, must succumb to a blue-eyed mania, or any other mania, which happens to attack Washington.

The debate, as well as Mr. Lie's removal, gives cause for hope that a new regime may be in store for the long-suffering Secretariat. Much will depend upon the attitude of Dag Hammarskjold, the new Secretary General. One of the most cogent speeches of the entire debate was delivered by his colleague, the Swedish delegate, who argued that only the United Nations could properly set the standards for its own employees. *The Nation* urges that Mr. Hammarskjold make it a first order of business to reaffirm the argument of his fellow-countryman and thus to reassure the Secretariat—and the world—that the witch-hunters have been chased away from the East River.

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J. Alvarez del Vayo

Diplomacy's Hour

United Nations

MAKE no mistake about it: Russia is engaged in a diplomatic operation of positive content and great dimensions; in popular terms, Russia means business. Until this fact is fully assimilated, Western observers, and governments too, will inevitably fall into errors of judgment. Even the formulation of new policies, which cannot long be delayed, will be based upon a faulty appreciation of Soviet intentions, with the danger of a major split among the Western allies and diplomatic defeat for those resisting negotiation.

The Soviet government is moving toward a comprehensive settlement of outstanding issues. Hardly had the last development in that direction been recorded—the cordial meeting between Foreign Minister Molotov and United States Chargé d'Affaires Jacob Beam—than diplomats in Moscow were predicting new Soviet moves designed to reopen and settle long-deadlocked issues. Having decided to end the present status quo, Russia is acting with its customary drive and determination. It is around this central fact that United States policy will have to be shaped.

That thi· has not yet been realized is evident here, particularly among Americans. European delegates and correspondents are much more aware of the meaning of the Russian and Chinese moves and prepared to act accordingly. The Asians are still more strongly convinced—and elated. In the last few days I have heard several of these comment with disapproval on the skepticism with which some American correspondents have been reporting the conciliatory Communist decisions and acts registered in the last ten days.

Of course a quick readjustment on the part of the Americans is difficult in view of the premises on which the campaign of psychological warfare has been based. The psychological war was designed to keep the Russians off balance, wondering what would be the next Western move and how the plans for strengthening the West and preparing for the "roll-back" of Soviet power would develop. The Russians, by the very structure of their regime, are able to change their course almost overnight. By taking the initiative and multiplying their gestures of friendship, coupled

Soviet Foreign Minister Molotov

with concrete proposals not at one point but at many, Moscow has put the West in the position of guesser.

Never was more evident the damage brought about by preaching the rigid doctrine that it was impossible to negotiate with Moscow. Never has there been clearer proof of the mistake of not having what the French call a *politique de rechange,* a policy flexible enough to provide an alternative for the moment when Moscow began to play the diplomatic cards it has always held.

At first, fear that the skeptical attitude adopted by the United States might stall a settlement tempered the joy with which the United Nations received the proposal of Chou En-lai. It was therefore with a feeling of relief that the delegates greeted President Eisenhower's statement that any offer should be taken at its face value until it was proved not to be genuine. But the almost contrary remarks of Secretary Dulles only twenty-four hours later again created an atmosphere of doubt. Delegates asked, "Which are we to believe?"

Mr. Dulles's pronouncement showed him desperately trying to limit and localize the peace, while the obvious intention of the Russians is to enlarge it. Mr. Dulles would like, as a maximum, a truce in Korea; he wants nothing that would threaten the alliance with Chiang Kai-shek, or the plans for Indo-China, or the rearming of Japan. And beyond Asia are the negotiations with Franco, the military alliance in the Middle East, the full rearmament of Germany, and everything he has envisaged as part of the liberation policy.

But this time it is impossible to expect these considerations to control the United Nations. Many delegates still remember that peace in Korea could have been achieved two years ago—when the U. N. forces reached the Thirty-eighth Parallel—had the warning of Sir Benegal Rau been heeded. This time they are not going to be misled.

Originally most of the delegates were against complicating the negotiations in Panmunjom with a debate in the Assembly. But since the Dulles pronouncement the number of those who want a general discussion has increased. Formally the issue has been before the Assembly from the moment Peking communicated its proposals to President Lester Pearson. If a debate takes place, one can expect the Russians to avoid giving any support to the position of those who maintain that "nothing has basically changed." For example, Molotov, while stressing the importance of having Communist China and North Korea participate in any discussion of Korea in the U. N., did not make it a condition.

The election of Dag Hammarskjold of Sweden as Secretary General came at the right time. A new man in office, unanimously elected and without obligations to anyone, has a unique opportunity, as well as a duty, to take advantage of the situation and exercise the powers of mediation inherent in the post of Secretary General. It is the moment for the United Nations to regain its leadership in world affairs.

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McCARTHYISM

The Impact on Europe . . . *by Alex Comfort*

[*This article and the one following by Andrew Roth make it abundantly clear that the problem of McCarthyism has burst out of this country's boundaries and become an important international issue.*]

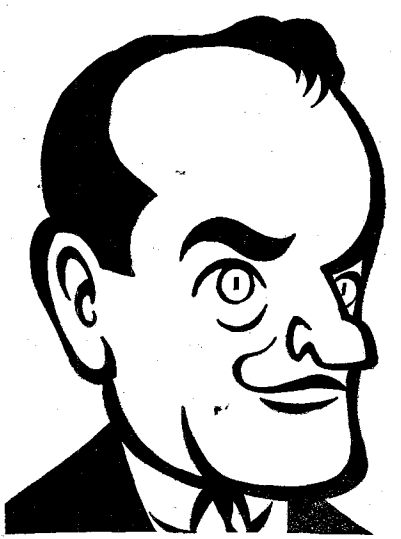
London

REPORTS of the great American witch hunt, like reports of all the goings-on in Moscow, reach us in Western Europe at second hand. We depend for information about both upon the type of biased hearsay which passes, in a cold war, under the title of news. The relatively greater accessibility of America and Americana compared with Russia and *Izvestia* does not always operate in favor of an unbiased picture. If *Ogonëk* were to start howling for an atomic war against New York—which, for the record, it never has done—most of us could read it only in suspect translation, whereas *Collier's,* to the regret of some of us, speaks our language.

In attempting to understand the forces which have taken control of American politics, dissertations on the mentality of some of the leading figures in the drama, like psychoanalytical speculation about Hitler, are beside the point; the real problems are sociological. It is unimportant that Senator McCarthy is a spiteful and delinquent mental patient; what is important is the conditions that allow a mental patient to blossom and flourish in a civilized society to the confusion of the sane. English social scientists would be rash to theorize at long range. We can, however, consider as objectively as possible the direct consequences of McCarthyism on the thinking of Europeans. These consequences seem to me to be among the really decisive factors shaping our future history.

A few weeks ago Jean-Paul Sartre attended the Russian-sponsored World Peace Congress in Vienna. His presence there struck me at the time as extremely significant. American propaganda in Europe assumes that only Arthur Koestler has any idea of the true nature of communism, and that French, British, and Italian intellectuals fall easy prey to colored magazines depicting the Kuibishev Dam; once they realize the true facts—the ruthlessness of the Kremlin, the Siberian camps, the suppression of free inquiry—they will run for shelter behind NATO. I put this view brutally because it is a delusion. Sartre has spoken for himself here in Europe in his brilliant paper debate with Camus. Contrary to State Department opinion, the politically conscious European knows his Communists. He knows his anti-Communists. He saw Spain, he saw Munich, he saw the Resistance. He has lived and argued with Communists.

As a result of what he knows, he, rather than the professional I-was-a-Red, and certainly rather than the military windbag, understands the value of the Western tradition of free inquiry and political moderation. This understanding is shared by the bulk of non-intellectual European opinion, though not to the point of articulation. America and Russia have one thing in common: they have both, at one time or another, commanded a vast reserve of public sympathy and support, and they have both dissipated it by their mistakes. It has been said that the War of Independence was not won by the Colonists but lost by King George. America today owes what support it receives in Europe, outside a small circle of Cabinet ministers of the clerical right and of refugees from the East who have lost everything, to the mistakes and excesses of the Communists. I have heard this put explicitly time and again by men in no way anti-American or pro-Communist in any intelligible sense of those words. "Well, at least in America I would be free to say what I am saying, whereas in Russia I would not"—that is the feather which turns the balance. Beyond that, the savagery with which the Korean war has been conducted has demolished, for most of Europe, any argument based on relative humanity. Europe knows that Americans are humane and decent people. So, within the framework of a different cultural tradition, are Russians. It is not the humanity of the individual any more than the psychopathology of Senator McCarthy which is the final argument; it is whether or not the practice, as opposed to the theory, of one side shows any less sign of being controlled by mentally deranged or brutalized individuals than that of the other.



Senator McCarthy

The upshot of this is that the European public, by and large, considers the present American government as contemptuous of human life as are the Eastern regimes, though in a different way; much more tolerable than they are from the viewpoint of individual freedom of expression, though inferior to the standard of tolerance existing in non-Communist, non-monarcho-Falangist Europe generally; less coherent, ideologically and socially, than the Communists; and from the standpoint of war far more accident-prone.

ALEX COMFORT, author of "The Power House" and other novels, is also one of Britain's foremost political pamphleteers.

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A year ago if anyone had rushed into a West European cafe, except in Berlin, and shouted, "They've started it! The balloon's gone up!" the "they" which most people would have supplied, mentally, would have been the "they" advertised by NATO and the press—the aggressive-minded Communists. Today it would be assumed to mean Eisenhower and Dulles. That may be shocking, but I believe it is true. This total lack of confidence, which extends through very diverse groups, is preparing a staggering débâcle for American diplomacy in Europe. Its continuity is broken at times only because on the issue of justice and civil liberties the Communists are demonstrably and insupportably the worse.

It is these occasional stirrings that McCarthy is busy suppressing. Europe is worried not because the witch hunt and the Eastern purges are "kif-kif," one as bad as the other—which they are manifestly not—but because it knows what they are symptoms of. Both Europeans and Americans have in the past fallen into the error of assuming that if the United States loses its tradition of liberty and succumbs to the fantastic, it will do so in the German, the Russian, the Italian, the Spanish, or the Napoleonic manner. It will not; it will do it in the American manner. America will never have a Hitler, but it may none the less become a land where liberals and scientists are silenced, and where the effective direction of policy is divided among General Motors, the madhouse, and some destructive military men.

Most Americans would be capable of great sacrifice and courage to prevent such a process if they recognized it. What scares us here is the degree of anaesthesia which already seems to exist, and the tendency to equate intellectual tyranny with physical force. A tyranny is not necessarily a society in which anyone who thinks is hit on the head. It can be a society in which the pressure of public custom and opinion prevents thinking at all. The American professor who does not like to quote Laski and the Russian professor who owns up to anti-Pavlovian errors in quoting Freud are not afraid of being hit over the head. They are afraid of becoming an exposed out-group, subject to economic pressure, public disapproval, and any display of aggression that may be at hand. They are less worried about ending in Siberia or Sing Sing than about incurring the hatred and contempt of their friends and families.

EUROPE IS NOT TODAY wholeheartedly on either side. More than anything else it wants to stay alive and preserve as many of its institutions as possible. The advent to power of Dulles and the liberators has shaken it profoundly. It suspects that the strategy of liberation may involve the provoking of "aggression." Its ultimate revolt is almost certain. If once it becomes convinced that the direction of affairs has been seized by the mental ward, that the Voice of McCarthy rules the air, it may reclaim its freedom of action. ("America will pull out" is for many a promise rather than a threat.)

But the loss to liberalism may still be considerable. For the social psychologist the defeat of McCarthyism is the keystone not of the "defense of the free world," as some would assert, but of the far more vital survival of the eclectic, humane, and scientific attitude as a foil to ideological mysticism. In a world split between Marxism and an America isolated behind its own Padded Curtain, the cause of reason would be in a precarious state. Nobody wants to see a fascist, outcast America. This has not yet happened. Americans can prevent it. But they will need the vigor of the most rebellious moments of their history.

RESTIVE BRITONS

by Andrew Roth

London

AS THE TV dramatization of "The Troubled Air," Irwin Shaw's taut novel on hysteria in American radio, drew near its dramatic close, an American radio announcer was heard saying that the McCarran act compelled even Prime Minister Churchill to be examined on his arrival in the United States. The play's last scene was pure irony—a view of the Statue of Liberty.

This exciting play on witch-hunting in America was presented twice in one week on Britain's national TV network and was seen by as many as five million people. A few weeks earlier the B. B. C. had broadcast "The Troublemakers," an even more violent attack on hysteria, this time as displayed on an American university campus. The successive presentation of two plays dealing with the same theme was almost certainly not accidental. The B. B. C. is not formally an official network—under its charter it has considerable independence—but in practice it is semi-official. That in these broadcasts it was indeed mirroring the Cabinet's fear for American political sanity was made clear by the Home Secretary, Sir David Maxwell Fyfe, in an interview with American newsmen.

In a seemingly endless cold war, Sir David said, it is essential to retain all the liberties that form the warp and woof of a free way of life and particularly to preserve that freedom of controversy which is so vital to democracy. The Conservative government, he continued, believed that a member of the Communist Party is entitled to hold a government or private post provided that his work does not involve secrets relating to the nation's security. The Home Secretary declared further that he would continue the Labor government's policy of permitting the entry of foreign Communists coming to attend open Communist meetings, but would refuse entry to those who come to use Britain as a sounding board under the auspices of Communist-front organizations.

This forthright statement made two things clear: that there is no difference of opinion between the Conservatives and Labor about the importance of preserving Britain's civil liberties; and that the Conservatives are now as worried about the witch hunt in the United States as the left wing of the Labor

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Party has been for some time. In the Conservative view the situation has become serious if decisions on vital international questions, such as talking with Malenkov, can be made by the Eisenhower Administration only after it considers what the lunatic McCarthy-McCarran fringe will have to say.

The attack on the appointment of Charles Bohlen as ambassador to Russia has silenced almost every British defender of the American obsession with security. I say "almost" because Rebecca West, who has specialized on traitors, is trying to convince the readers of the *Sunday Times* that the witch hunt is completely justified by the scope of the Communist conspiracy in Washington. Few here except the Communists deny that the United States has to take special precautions in a period like the present; the British security services also tap telephones, as the Home Secretary has admitted. The difference between the British and the American technique is that the results of such investigations here are not "leaked" to right-wing newspapers or to M. P.'s and are used only for their primary purpose—security—not to smear political enemies.

The British are naturally loath to criticize American methods after being caught flat-footed in the cases of Fuchs, MacLean, Burgess, and Pontecorvo. But in general they feel that American investigators spend too much of their time attacking views much like those held by the almost half of the population that voted Labor in the last election. British security officials do not think that sympathy for the Spanish Republic in the 1930's automatically connotes disloyalty today, or that student radicalism does. Churchill's friend, Sir Brendan Bracken, wrote recently in the *Financial Times:* "Things have now reached a pass in the United States when to have made a mild speech twenty years ago at a college debating society, saying that perhaps there was a grain of truth in the doctrines of Marx and Lenin, is quite enough to blot a man's career."

"America has two Secretaries of State," the *Observer* quoted Dean Acheson as saying during his term of office, "Senator McCarthy and myself." On March 29 this pro-American paper added, "In the past two months it has sometimes appeared that Mr. Dulles might also be forced to share his high position" with Senator McCarthy.

"How long will America stand for this?" asked the *News Chronicle* columnist Francis Williams, former press spokesman of Labor Prime Minister Clement Attlee, on March 26. Williams's views frequently reflect those of the Attlee-Morrison leadership of the Labor Party, which has long been less critical of the United States than the left-wingers. Mr. Williams wrote:

> The climate of opinion which makes it possible for the McCarthys of American life to remain powerful public figures is not America's concern only. The moral attitudes they depend upon and exploit matter not only to America but to the whole free world. And those of us who hold as our strongest article of international faith the need for the closest bonds of fidelity between Britain, the Commonwealth, and the United States have, I believe, an obligation to tell our friends in America just how much damage those attitudes are doing to the cause of freedom everywhere. . . .

TAXES INTO PROFITS

$25 Billion Bonanza . . . *by Bruce Catton*

Washington

IF TENDER consideration for the big taxpayer is a guiding principle under the present Administration—and if it isn't, what is?—it may be about time to look at some of the effects of the rapid-tax-amortization program which went into operation as a result of the Korean emergency. Ostensibly the program was set up to give industry the necessary incentives to expand productive capacity. Actually, as a Congressional committee once remarked, it has been "the biggest bonanza that ever came down the government pike."

American industry has been reequipping itself with upward of $25 billion worth of new plant and machinery, more than two-thirds of which is being written off through accelerated tax amortization. The increase in American productive capacity is immense. The only catch is that so much of it has been done at public expense. Exact definition of "at public expense" will have to wait until we know what is going to happen to corporate tax rates. If the emergency ends within a few years and tax rates drop sharply, there has been an outright subsidy. If the emergency continues and tax rates stay up, there has at least been a prodigious interest-free loan.

The theory of the rapid-tax-amortization program is simple. In a defense emergency the nation needs a sharp increase in military production. Much of the plant that will provide this increase will be of very little use after the emergency ends. The industrialist is induced to expand anyway by a certificate which permits him in five years to write off, for income-tax purposes, the cost of that part of his new plant and equipment which will be of little or no use after the emergency.

The troubles arise under the application of the theory. A powder factory or a shell-loading plant, obviously, is not going to earn many profits once defense production drops. But in an expanding economy like ours a steel mill or an aluminum plant or an electric-power plant can go right on producing and selling its product. At the end of five years the beneficiary of a tax-amortization certificate will have written off a large part of his new investment. In

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effect, he will have received a large amount of public aid in reequipping his plant for peace-time production.

In basic industries like steel and aluminum, the amortization rate has been very high—an average of 85 per cent, for instance, in the case of aluminum. Steel did nearly as well. Industry as a whole averaged from 60 to 75 per cent. Interestingly enough, the electric utilities got only about 40 per cent, owing to the fact that their applications were processed in Oscar Chapman's Department of the Interior, which took a rather conservative view of the situation.

To a large extent, of course, all this is water over the dam, for the peak of the program is past. But the whole operation has put industry in a new position and has raised problems which will be with us for a long time.

FIRST OF ALL, the competitive advantage which big business normally enjoys over small business has been strikingly increased. Economists in the Small Defense Plants Administration point out that in the basic industries involved, small firms normally provide roughly 35 per cent of the employment. To retain its old competitive position, therefore, small business should have received about 35 per cent of the tax-amortization certificates—in total dollar value. Actually, a year-end tabulation made by the S. D. P. A. shows that small business got about 10 per cent.

The figure varies greatly, of course, from industry to industry. It becomes more instructive when the number of certificates granted is compared with the number asked for. Over all, the S. D. P. A. analysts point out, small business accounted for 10 per cent of the value of certificates granted and 23 per cent of the applications denied.

In eighteen out of twenty major industry groupings in manufacturing, small business received substantially less than its fair share. But in at least eight of these groupings, small business firms filed enough applications so that it *could* have received its full 35 per cent share. In textiles small business has 22 per cent of the employment and got 5 per cent of the value of certificates issued. In primary metals—aluminum, copper, steel, zinc, etc.—small business provides 18 per cent of the employment and got only 8 per cent.

How much all this means to big business in dollars and cents will depend to a certain extent on future government policies. A firm producing military goods under government contract comes eventually before the Renegotiation Board, which examines the firm's costs and is supposed to roll its profits back, if necessary, to a reasonable level. The Renegotiation Board normally figures as cost anything which the Bureau of Internal Revenue recognizes as cost. But the heart of the accelerated-amortization program is the proviso that a corporation may depreciate at an accelerated rate plants and machinery acquired for the defense effort. The rapid write-off allowed by the corporation's certificate thus becomes a legitimate cost.

If this principle holds good in all the forthcoming renegotiation proceedings, a corporation which built a new factory and amortized the cost over five years—that is, which wrote off during that period an amount equal to 80 or 85 per cent of the total cost of the plant, and deducted the sum from taxable income—would also be able to include the figure as an item of cost in producing goods for government contract. It would thus benefit in two ways—through tax savings, and through higher cash receipts from the contracting agency. The improvement in the corporation's competitive position, vis-à-vis a producer who also held a government contract but did not get a tax-amortization certificate, would be dazzling.

THE ULTIMATE EFFECT of the program will also depend on the level of taxes from 1955 to 1958, when the certificates already issued will "mature." If business taxes continue high, the government will get a substantial windfall in its collections as corporations reach the end of the rapid write-off and begin paying taxes without even the benefit of normal depreciation allowances. Because of this factor, it is often argued that the whole program is not really a hand-out at all—that in the long run the corporation will pay just as much in taxes as it would have paid if it had received no amortization privilege.

Concerning this point, two things need to be said. First, even if the point is accepted, the fact does remain that for the five-year period involved, the corporation in effect has enjoyed a tax-free loan from the government. Second, barring a shooting war, no one in Washington has any notion that corporate taxes are going to remain anywhere near their present high level for very many more years. If there is any virtue at all in campaign promises—and, more important, in the inner motivations of the powerful men who caused those promises to be made—taxes will come down sharply. When and if they do, the corporation will be in the position of having escaped normal tax levies until the high-rate period was over.

OF ESPECIAL INTEREST is the situation as it affects the public utilities. A profoundly important element in rate-making is to be found in the amortization privileges which the utilities have been granted. The case here is very much like the question just raised in connection with contract renegotiation: can the corporation affected claim that the money saved by rapid tax amortization is properly an element of cost? The utilities are arguing that what they have done, actually, is to set up a surplus for deferred income taxes. So far, fourteen of the fifteen state regulatory commissions which have passed on the matter have agreed. The question is now before the Federal Power Commission.

Analysts of the Electric Consumers' Information Committee recently did some figuring on the $1,600,000,000 in tax-amortization certificates so far received by the utilities and came up with some interesting results. A utility which received, say, a million-dollar five-year certificate can amortize its new plant at 20 per cent a year as compared to 4 per cent without a certificate. This would mean a tax saving of $83,200 a year—or, over five years, of $416,000 in all. Call this sum tax savings, surplus for deferred taxes, interest-free loan, or whatever, it represents money which has been collected from consumers and retained for federal-income-tax purposes.

The committee then points out that if this $416,000 had been borrowed in the ordinary way, 6 per cent interest would have been paid on it. At the end of five years, then, the utility has in effect saved $488,000, not $416,000. Also, at the end of five years, the utility resumes paying taxes on its new plant, but in amounts less than the annual interest on the $488,000 would have represented.

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Thus, argues the committee, the whole thing adds up to a $416,000 interest-free loan—not for five years, but for twenty-five years, the assumed life of the new plant. Even assuming that tax rates do not go down, all that the utility does, in substance, is to repay the principal of the loan in annual instalments.

The basic question, of course, is simply this: who ought eventually to get the benefits of the tax deferral—stockholders, or taxpayers and consumers?

As a final factor it remains to be emphasized that the amortization program bears very little real relation to the actual needs of our mobilization plan. In theory, the issuance of tax-amortization certificates is supposed to be tied to expansion goals set for commodities or production areas. Actually, these goals have been extremely fuzzy. They are rarely based on the level of the nation's production needs, because total-mobilization requirements data simply are not available. In some fields goals have been set on the basis of full mobilization; in others, on the basis of partial mobilization. In many cases government experts were quite unable to agree on current supply figures. One government economist recently commented that the pressure to set an expansion goal normally comes from the size of the tax-amortization program in that particular field rather than from comprehensive research into critical needs.

It's a strange picture, with enormous values involved. It will be interesting to see what is finally done about it.

WINTHROP W. ALDRICH

Million-Dollar Diplomat . . *by Egon Pohoryles*

LESS than a month after taking up his post in London, Winthrop W. Aldrich, the new United States ambassador to the Court of St. James's, was back in this country, unobtrusively accompanying the Eden-Butler mission. In return for continued American aid the Britons are reported to have discussed the question of "liberalizing world trade," more specifically, easing the currency restrictions by which both the Labor and the Conservative government has tried to maintain the British standard of living since the end of the war. The proposal sounds much like a program advocated by Aldrich since 1945.

In August of that year, before the American Chamber of Commerce in London, Aldrich urged the ending of governmental controls as the only means of reestablishing world trade on a healthy basis and preventing socialism. In October, 1945, he elaborated his views to the New York State Chamber of Commerce:

> We must not resign ourselves to a fatalistic belief that economic controls are a necessary feature of modern societies. Economic arrangements between nations depend upon man-made policy. They are not the result of certain assumed external forces over which we have no influence. Let us struggle to achieve the type of world we think will best serve the interests of mankind and not take the defeatist attitude that totalitarian controls are inevitable.

A bulky, somber-looking man ("I never smile south of Canal Street"), Aldrich is the son of Senator Nelson W. Aldrich of Rhode Island who entered Congress in 1881 worth $50,000 and died in 1915 leaving an estate of $30,000,000. As president of the Chase National Bank during the depression he headed, together with Charles E. Mitchell of the National City Bank, a committee of bankers to whom New York City appealed in November, 1932, for $25,000,000 to meet winter unemployment-relief needs. The bankers refused, insisting that the city first cut salaries. Aldrich was then being paid $175,000 a year by Chase, which made him, according to the Senate Banking Committee, the highest paid bank official in the country. The city capitulated to the bankers' demands a month later.

ALDRICH'S interest in the unemployed had apparently been aroused. In a speech to the Commonwealth Club of San Francisco in 1934, he declared that the problem of unemployment and relief would probably persist over a long period, and one must not be "tolerant of waste or inefficiency or of wrong theories in the handling of it." He advocated abolition of the work-relief programs as too costly and their replacement by a dole on the British model. "I submit," he said, "that if we in this country concentrate on direct home relief and eliminate work relief as far as possible . . . one of the most disturbing factors operating today against the revival of private enterprise would be removed." He suggested the establishment of a new agency, freed of social workers, to administer relief programs.

The depressed farmer also received Aldrich's attention. In 1933, predicting a long depression, he advised the Senate Finance Committee as follows:

> In connection with farm-mortgage relief, I would make every effort to deal with intelligent discrimination with individual cases, seeking to bring debtors and creditors into agreement with one another. . . . We must protect the commercial morality of the country in the interests of the future giving and taking of credit.

He denied that debtor farmers as a group needed mortgage relief.

Aldrich joined the ranks of those who, in his own words, are "charged with responsibility for finance and for other phases of the economic life of the country" as a lawyer for the Rocke-

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fellers. His sister Abby had married John D. Rockefeller, Jr., in 1901. In 1929, when John D. Rockefeller, Jr., became disturbed by the connection between Colonel Robert W. Stewart, chairman of the Standard Oil Company of Indiana, and a Senate committee investigating the oil industry, Aldrich marshaled the Rockefeller forces at a stockholders' meeting which ousted Stewart. After that, the Rockefellers summoned Aldrich from the law to head the Equitable Trust Company. In 1930, when the Chase National Bank merged with Equitable and another concern to become the largest private bank of the day—with resources in excess of $2,800,000,000—Aldrich became president of Chase as representative of the Rockefeller interests. Three years later, Albert H. Wiggins, a Morgan man, was forced out as Chase's chairman of the board, and Aldrich took over.

THE CONFLICT between the Rockefeller and Morgan interests, which continued until after the 1936 elections, was evident in the relations of the two groups to the Roosevelt Administration. The previous Republican administrations had always called on the Morgans in a financial crisis, but Roosevelt and Congress turned to Aldrich for advice on monetary policy, foreign trade, and unemployment.

In 1933, immediately after the bank holiday, Aldrich called for the complete separation of deposit and investment banking, to the extent of forbidding private bankers to be directors of deposit banks. The program struck right at the position of J. P. Morgan and Company, whose members were directors of some of the largest commercial banks. At conferences with Roosevelt and other Administration leaders, Aldrich helped to draft the Securities acts of 1933 and 1934.

In July, 1936, the Federal Reserve System announced that it was raising reserve requirements of member banks by 50 per cent to guard against "possible injurious credit expansion." The New York *Times* commented:

> In its action the board followed a course that had been urged for nine months by certain bankers and economists, notably Winthrop W. Aldrich. . . . It disregarded the urgings of other bankers, notably S. Parker Gilbert of J. P. Morgan and Company, who had insisted that there was no undue expansion of credit as yet and that to raise member-bank reserve requirements at this time might be to jeopardize recovery.

By 1938 the national income had dropped $7,000,000,000, and it began to climb only after the injection of new federal expenditures.

ALDRICH'S INFLUENCE remained great under Truman. He backed the Marshall Plan enthusiastically and in 1949 was able to inform Chase stockholders that the bank was leading all others in financing operations under the Economic Cooperation Administration.

> Although high expenses are incurred in handling this business [he reported], our participation in the E. C. A. program is important and significant for several reasons. It is significant as an index of Chase standing in the foreign field, because the banking business involved originated in foreign banks and foreign governmental agencies. It is important as part of the American program to assist in the rehabilitation of European and other economies. It is important also in its beneficial effects in creating markets for American products. It is further important in that it is helping to keep international trade within the framework of commercial banking channels.

As chairman of President Truman's Committee on Financing Foreign Trade, Aldrich described himself in 1950 as "enthusiastically interested" in the Point Four program. Set up "in precisely the right way," he said, it might bring a "good flow" of private investment abroad. Aldrich had first suggested setting up a Point Four program at a White House meeting with Truman in July, 1946. Truman unveiled it during his inaugural address in 1949.

Winthrop W. Aldrich

Even when he has not succeeded in getting his own way, Aldrich has made the best of the situation. He opposed the Bretton Woods agreement of 1944 which proposed the setting up of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. When the International Bank came into existence in December, 1945, John J. McCloy became its first president. When McCloy resigned to go to Germany as United States High Commissioner, he was succeeded by Eugene R. Black, a senior vice-president at Chase. With Aldrich at London, McCloy has become chairman of Chase.

Through Chase's foreign connections —at Havana, Cristobal, Panama City, Mexico City, London, Paris, Rome, Berlin, Shanghai, Hongkong, Tientsin, plus the sixty-four foreign offices of its wholly-owned subsidiary American Express Company—Aldrich has been not without influence abroad. In the year before Hitler's rise to power, 37 per cent of Chase's foreign commitments were in Germany, $74,663,327 out of a total United States financial stake in Germany of $2,120,000,000. Aldrich saw Hitler soon after he seized power, but the subject of their conversation has never been revealed; Aldrich only said that he had talked with the Chancellor for "some time." Others who have found it expedient to have chats with Aldrich in more recent years are De Gasperi, Churchill, Salazar, and Franco. Chase pulled Franco out of a very serious hole in 1949 by lending him $30,000,000. The loan, Aldrich assured his stockholders, was adequately secured.

By June, 1934, despite his influence with the Roosevelt Administration, Aldrich had applied for readmission to the National Republican Club. In the 1936 campaign he helped write the Republican platform. In 1944 he was treasurer of the Republican Finance Committee. In 1952 he was chairman of the United Republican Finance Committee of New York State and, according to such widely divergent sources as *Pravda* and Westbrook Pegler, chiefly responsible for getting General Eisenhower nominated over Senator Taft.

Aldrich had had previous experience in capturing nominations. In the 1950 gubernatorial race in New York, when Lieutenant Governor Joe R. Hanley refused to step aside and allow Dewey

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to be "drafted" as the Republican candidate, Aldrich called a meeting at his office of several New York bankers and Frank E. Gannett, head of the newspaper chain and a Hanley backer. Mr. Gannett, according to the New York *Times* of August 31, 1950, was "urged to withdraw his support of Mr. Hanley. He was told by Mr. Aldrich and the others that the Hanley candidacy could not count on financial support, after nomination, from the metropolitan area."

When Eisenhower named Aldrich to be ambassador to Great Britain, the Senate confirmed the appointment by voice vote, with only Senator Wayne Morse speaking against it. Morse said that Aldrich personified "the American dollar sign and dollar diplomacy" and would be taken as a symbol "of the exploitations of the people of the backward areas of the world." In reply New York's liberal Democratic Senator Lehman praised Aldrich for integrity and public service, and Republican Senator Ives asked: "Have we in the government come to a condition where we can appoint to public service only those who are substantially paupers?"

The main problem before the United States was analyzed by Aldrich in a speech last November:

> It is rapidly becoming clear that we cannot decisively win even the cold war on the basis of superiority in productive capacity and military power alone. . . . Our economic system, large and powerful as it is, cannot indefinitely sustain the drain of an endless arms race and continued grants-in-aid to our allies.

Aldrich urged a new, long-range foreign policy, combining maximum military strength with "a dynamic economic strategy so bold and so vigorous that it will more than match the ruthless totalitarian expansion of communism." The cornerstone of his economic strategy is a flow of American investments abroad, and he has begun the task of creating the conditions that will make the flow possible. As defined by him in 1949, the conditions are (1) military security through implementation of the Atlantic Pact; (2) "political stability" through the elimination of the "threat of communism"; (3) economic stability; and (4) foreign governments which encourage American investments.

Aldrich bade farewell to the Chase last Christmas at a concert given by the employees' choral society. "It is a sad thing," he said, "to leave after twenty-three years, and I would not do it if I did not feel I could serve my country." Then as the chorus intoned, "Hark, the Herald Angels Sing" (" . . . peace on earth and mercy mild . . ."), Winthrop W. Aldrich, chairman and director of the Chase National Bank and the Chase Safe Deposit Company, director of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company, the Westinghouse Electric Corporation, the International Paper Company, the Discount Corporation of New York, the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, and the New York Central Railroad, squared his shoulders and answered his country's call.

MOSCOW-PEKING AXIS

New Unity in the Making . . *by Alexander Werth*

Paris

THE Soviet leaders are no sentimentalists. Everything they say, everything they do, is determined by hard-headed realistic considerations. There is no improvising. But that does not mean that the Soviet people are hard-headed. They are often emotional and capable of developing a genuine *mystique* in the sense that Péguy gave to the word; the stimulation of such a *mystique* by a propaganda drive has on many occasions supplied the Kremlin with a powerful weapon. One only has to remember the enthusiasm that existed in Russia, especially among the young, at the time of the early five-year plans or the last-ditch mentality of the Stalingrad period.

Looking through the Soviet press of recent months, I have been struck by the extraordinary prominence and amount of space given to China. Korea, in comparison, is treated as a sideshow; on Vietnam there is almost nothing (the Soviet line on Vietnam has been that the French ought to try to come to terms with Vietminh and not to internationalize the war); and Japan is of interest chiefly as "America's main aggressive base in Asia."

This Soviet preoccupation with things Chinese was in no way diminished by Stalin's death. If anything, Malenkov appears to be more Orient-minded than his predecessor. Of all the foreign dignitaries at Stalin's funeral, Chou En-lai was given the most publicity in the Soviet press, and both Moscow and Peking have since sought to impress upon the world that their mutual friendship remains unshaken by the change in the Soviet regime. It is noteworthy that Chou En-lai's latest bid for peace in Korea, representing important concessions to the West, was announced shortly after his return from a prolonged visit to Moscow.

While it is never definitely stated in the Soviet press—or by the Chinese leaders, for that matter—that if China is attacked by America, or Chiang, the armed forces of the Soviet Union will immediately come to its defense, such support is undoubtedly implied in the constant identification of China and the Soviet Union by Russian political writers today. This is an important point, for the plans of certain American generals are based on the assumption that Russia can be counted on to stay out.

For months it has been drummed into the Russians that the inclusion of China in the Communist bloc was their greatest

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post-war victory; in comparison, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and East Germany are but small stuff. In China history has been marching on in seven-league boots; the human qualities and the national yearnings of the Chinese people have created better conditions for a vast revolutionary movement than exists anywhere else. An ever-recurring theme of Soviet propaganda is that the success of the Chinese Revolution is already so great, after only three years, that America is "frightened" and would like to destroy China before it is too late. Since this, it is suggested, would be intolerable to Russia as well as China, Russian non-intervention is out of the question.

A RECENT SPEECH by Foreign Minister Chou En-lai which aroused very little interest in the West was reproduced on eleven columns of *Pravda* on February 7 and 8. Chou En-lai began:

> In three years we had to create conditions making it possible to start the industrialization of our country and insuring a constant movement toward socialism. . . . An unprecedented unity of our people has been achieved. Over two million bandits have been destroyed—a terrible blow to the remnants of the counter-revolutionary forces. Over an area with a rural population of more than 400,000,000 we have carried out our land reform. The firms owned by bureaucratic capital have been nationalized, and a great mass movement among the people has successfully stamped out China's "five evils"—bribery, tax evasion, etc. Some 65 per cent of our peasantry have already joined cooperatives and other mutual-aid organizations. There are 4,000 producer cooperatives in the country, 2,000 state farms, 10 experimental collective farms, and 2,600 artisan producer cooperatives. Consumer cooperatives have 141,000,000 members.

He then gave a detailed report of trade-union activities, youth organizations, Chinese-Soviet friendship societies, and so on and remarked that the political consciousness of the Chinese people had risen to unprecedented levels. And all this, he said, had been done while "hundreds of thousands of our best sons and daughters have been in the volunteer forces in Korea, where, together with the Korean army, they have pushed the Americans back to the Thirty-eighth Parallel." The moral effect of this struggle against American imperialism, he continued, was to "stimulate the immense work undertaken inside China, strengthen the nation's international position, and create even greater anti-war feeling throughout the world."

It seems obvious that the Korean war acted as a tremendous spur to nationalist activity and that the Chinese government made the most of it in its drive for higher output in all fields. The war, according to Chou En-lai, has also aided the "cleanliness campaign," which has become a "patriotic nation-wide movement," especially after the start of the "bacteriological war"—a curious admission that the "bacterial bombs" served a major Chinese domestic purpose.

Quoting both Stalin and Mao, Chou En-lai stressed that Russia's aid was given in the "common interest," that there was no question of one country being the "satellite" of the other. Nearly three-quarters of China's trade, he said, was now with the Soviet bloc; China did not fear blockades or embargoes—"the others will be the losers." Was this a reference to Hongkong?

A particularly interesting passage in Chou's speech dealt with the new Sino-Mongolian cultural and economic agreement. Together with other references to joint economic planning and development, it tends to confirm what Owen Lattimore wrote in *The Nation* of December 6:

> Russia has now only one line of rail communication with China, through Manchuria. When that is backed by another line through Mongolia, and by a third, still deeper in the heart of the continent, through Central Asia, the whole economic structure of China will be given a right-angled turn away from the coast, the seaports, and international oceanic trade and toward Siberia, Central Asia, and eventual integration into an industrialized Eurasia.

That this program is already being carried out was confirmed, if obliquely, by *Izvestia* on February 13, when it said that in addition to the Chandow-Chungkin and Tienchuy-Langchow railways, "two other major new lines, both of very great importance, are now being built."

MOST SOVIET CITIZENS, as Stalin virtually said to Matsuoka in 1941, feel more at ease, more at home, with "Asians" than with Western Europeans, or even with Czechs and Poles. In fact, in addition to the build-up of political solidarity with the Chinese government, everything is being done to stimulate a feeling of human solidarity with the Chinese people. There is a constant exchange of Russian and Chinese students, a constant flow of delegations in both directions.

Chou En-lai

Izvestia recently published four articles about China by Sergei Obrastov, the brilliant director of the Moscow Puppet Theater and a writer of great charm and spontaneity. I will quote one passage:

> The Yangtze rolls on for 3,000 miles, and many a cargo has it carried on its mighty flood. Yet there is one stretch of 350 miles which has caused China great sorrow. In 1930 alone 22,000 people were drowned and 10,000,000 left homeless. . . . But in April, 1952, a whole army of builders came here, and in 75 days they did what had not been done in thousands of years. They built a dyke 200 miles long, two enormous dams, and a reservoir 400 square miles in extent. Five million peasants can now peacefully till their fields; the Yangtze is no longer their enemy.

The Russian reader is inevitably carried away by sympathy for these Chinese who seem so much like his own countrymen in their genius for collective action. In all the stories there is a clear call to think how weak and backward Russia was thirty-five years ago and to imagine what Russia and China together can do in another thirty-five years. But along with the optimism that these vast historical vistas must breed, there must also be a fear that the United States cannot afford to let all this develop according to plan.

The planners of a great industrial Eurasia are therefore understandably reluctant on any account to postpone the building of the Mongolian and Sinkiang railways for even thirty years.

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BOOKS

Maritain's Guide to Greatness

A Review by S. Lane Faison, Jr.

CREATIVE INTUITION IN ART AND POETRY. By Jacques Maritain. Bollingen Series XXV-1. Pantheon Books. $6.50.

THOMAS AQUINAS continues to provide Jacques Maritain with a measure for appraising the present and for supplementing the wisdom of the ancients, notably Plato. In this long and carefully reasoned book, developed from the A. W. Mellon Lectures which he gave at the National Gallery of Art a year ago, Maritain discourses upon creative intuition as the mark of genius in art, and uses it as a guide to greatness in poetry and painting, especially in the period between Baudelaire and the contemporary scene.

Maritain's affirmation may be roughly paraphrased, for the most part in his own words. Art is nothing less than a perfection of the soul. It is a virtue, not a moral virtue, but a virtue of the practical intellect. As such, it endows the artisan with a certain perfection of the spirit. Unlike prudence, which is also a virtue of the practical intellect, art is concerned with the good of the work, whereas prudence is concerned with the good of the man. Art, not concerned with the good of the man, pertains to a sphere separate from, and independent of, the sphere of morality. It breaks into human life and human affairs "like a moon prince or a mermaid into a customs office or a congregation; it will always make trouble and arouse suspicion." But art exists in a human being—the artist; and once a man is through, his art is through also. Thus art that feeds merely upon itself is doomed to decay. The intellect (or reason) which plays the principal part in the fine arts is not conceptual, discursive, logical reason, nor even working reason. It is intuitive reason, in the obscure and high regions which are near the center of the soul. As a virtue of the intellect, art demands to communicate with the entire universe of the intellect. Its normal climate is therefore intelligence and knowledge. Worship of ignorance and rudeness by artists is a sign of inner weakness. Aquinas's epistemology, his discussion of the formation of intellectual knowledge, all taking place in man's soul, is upheld by Maritain as still valid, particularly in its application to creative activity. He finds it an indispensable antidote to Plato's concept of a Muse detached and apart from individual human beings.

MARITAIN belongs to the generation of the Cubists. Unlike many philosophers and theologians of his own age, he accepts with enthusiasm the Cubists' contribution. He numbers Braque and Picasso—Cubist phases—among the great. In a footnote of incisive brilliance he deplores the attitude of Hans Sedlmayr, a Viennese art historian recently called to the chair at Munich University, who has attacked the dehumanization of our age of culture in a widely discussed book ("Verlust der Mitte," 1948). "There is no more misleading and unsound genus," Maritain affirms, "than ideological systematization of human history intent on disregarding the essentials of art, and its intrinsic laws of development, for the sake of a so-called cultural diagnosis and prognosis of art as a moral symptom."

On his own supra-moral ground, however, Maritain believes that degeneracy is now with us: ". . . we have also to do today with a particularly unfortunate, and illegitimate, progeny of great contemporary painters—the School of Degradation, I would say—and with the avid followers who mistook Picasso's cruel hieroglyphs for animal frenzy. They have found in his lesson a means of releasing the resentments of a boorish soul and of getting at little cost the admiration of an idiot public. They cling furiously to the human figure, but make it into a putrid foetus or a disintegrated lizard or kangaroo armed with pincers and topped by a stupid eye or a fiendish set of teeth."

Exceptions, unnamed, to the foregoing denunciation are admitted to exist. Even so, I must confess that I probably belong to that idiot public, having found much artistic value in the work of painters of the post-Cubist generation.

TO ANSWER Maritain on his own ground—and it ought to be done—would require philosophical and theological training which I cannot provide. On historical example, however, I reject the likelihood that any generation of artists is utterly inferior to the one which just preceded it. On his own plane of generalization Maritain is illuminating and profound, and he is frequently seized with moments of poetic insight. But the application of general theory to particular case is always subject to the same weakness: the argument no longer applies, and we witness the writer's taste, not his ideas. On an early page Maritain cites a number of painters who give him the feeling "that we are in the presence of an exceptionally great epoch." Note that none of these is younger than the Cubist generation—Cézanne, Rouault, van Gogh, Henri Rousseau, Braque, Chagall, "or, to cite less resounding names, Odillon Redon, Toulouse-Lautrec, Utrillo, La Fresnaye, Jean Hugo, Marin, or Paul Klee." To make such groupings is any man's privilege, but to mention Jean Hugo and Paul Klee in the same breath, and to place Toulouse-Lautrec below Chagall is to indicate a deplorable weakness of critical judgment. In saying this, I am at least no more dogmatic than Maritain himself.

Space prevents the further consideration that I should have wished to make of these matters. It should be added, however, that Maritain's objection to abstract expressionism is as forthright as it is courageous and, I think, mistaken. His ruling principle is that art must be concerned with Things or it is doomed. The reply which occurs to me is perhaps too simple, but I will venture

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to make it. Colors are Things, textures are Things, the experience of space is a Thing. Out of these and other Things some of today's non-objective painters fashion their own expressive calligraphy, and construct their own vision. I share Maritain's enthusiasms for the art of the past—meaning, by his own definition, up to about 1930—and I have profited much from reading him; but I find no compulsion to believe that the spiritual bottom has suddenly dropped out.

In reviewing a book of such magnitude and complexity, one must sacrifice synopsis if one is to accomplish anything else. I regret the necessity of merely mentioning Maritain's discussions of poetry; his generous citation of examples of philosophy, poetry, and theology to illuminate his text; the depth of his scholarship; the resonance of his prose; and above all the uncompromising nobility of his conception of art. Another Maritain, born after 1900, might not have slammed the door so irrevocably on our brave new world.

New Books in Brief

The Joys of Detachment

MY HOST THE WORLD. By George Santayana. Scribner's. $3. George Santayana, who died last year in Rome in his eighty-ninth year, published during his lifetime thirty volumes. Now his work has been completed with the publication of this third volume of his autobiography. Most of the book deals with his years in England and finally with his old age in Italy. If detachment is the hall-mark of the true philosopher, then Santayana was one of the greatest. If human sympathy and a deep sense of participation are essential, Santayana hardly ranks high. He had an admirable cosmopolitan education, having been born in the heart of Catholic Old Spain and reared in the heart of Puritan New England, at home in the classics and familiar with the thought of the contemporary world. But the contemporary world did not fascinate him. He became "a sort of hermit, not from fear or horror of mankind, but by sheer preference for peace and obscurity."

Except for Bertrand Russell and his older brother, the second Earl Russell, few persons emerge as living portraits out of these detached and evenly flowing pages. Though they are written with a keen sense of beauty and great lucidity, their very evenness makes them monotonous. They deal with Santayana himself, his thoughts and readings, impressions and judgments. He was never "young," but on the other hand, in all his loneliness, he never grew old. "Nothing is inherently and invincibly young except spirit. And spirit can enter human beings perhaps better in the quiet of old age and dwell there more undisturbed than in the turmoil of adventure." His pleasure grew out of intercourse with places and things rather than with persons, and to these pleasures of an old solitary man, steeped in the whole tradition of the life of reason, the autobiography bears witness.

Moral Ideals and Marxism

GIANT IN CHAINS. By Barrows Dunham. Little, Brown. $3.75. This lively, well-written book considers philosophy "as the theory . . . of deliverance . . . for mankind as a whole." For such a theory to prove valid, the author argues, it must provide affirmative answers to five questions: "Is change real? Is change controllable? Can we have knowledge? Can we know when we have it? Can we know what ought to be done with knowledge?" Examining the major philosophical systems, Professor Dunham finds that Hegelianism supports "order but not change," while pragmatism recognizes "change but not order." Only the Marxian view of the universe, by taking account of the fact that "permanence and change require each other," answers all five questions with a ringing yea. Thus fortified, Professor Dunham advances through a long discussion of the problem of ethics to the conclusion that "the moral ideal is that organization of mankind in which the satisfaction of human needs occurs with complete efficiency."

Plenty of non-Marxians will subscribe to the ideal. The question is: How is

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this desired organization to be achieved? Professor Dunham hints that communism is the answer, and his references to the Soviet Union, oblique as most of them are, suggest that he is infected with William James's "will to believe." In fact, there are times when his philosophical spectacles appear to need adjustment for distance. He sees so plainly "the pressures of organized mythology" at home, so utterly fails to recognize them at longer range.

Sharp Light of Fantasy

THE GOLDEN APPLES OF THE SUN. By Ray Bradbury. Doubleday. $3. Clever, entertaining, sometimes genuinely satiric sketches and stories of science fiction which have excited the admiration of Christopher Isherwood and Angus Wilson among others. By placing his scenes in the realm of fantasy Mr. Bradbury sometimes throws a sharp light on aspects of modern life that conventional fiction hardly touches; but one wishes the level of all his stories was up to that of the best ones.

The Aggressive West

THE WORLD AND THE WEST. By Arnold Toynbee. Oxford. $2. In this brief work, originally presented as radio lectures over B. B. C., Mr. Toynbee reminds us that in the centuries-old encounter between the World and the West it is the West that has been the aggressor. Russia, he points out, has been invaded from Europe five times in the last 350 years; Islam, after its defeat before Vienna, was rolled back and pulverized; India became the victim of imperialist conquest; China and Japan were jolted out of their seclusion.

Superior technology has been the West's weapon, and to meet its challenge Russia, China, and other countries are making forced marches to catch up. As they do so the conflict moves from a technical to an ideological plane, with the World turning against the West the spiritual weapons it has borrowed—the idea of nationalism and the Western heresy of communism, "the product of uneasy Western consciences." What will be the dénouement of this struggle? One possibility, Mr. Toynbee suggests hopefully, is the attainment of the kind of balance that existed in the second century A. D. between the power of Rome and that of the Hellenized Eastern empires. The peaceful interlude that followed gave an opportunity for new religions, preaching the ideal of fraternity, to conquer the conquerors.

Needless to say, Mr. Toynbee sets forth this thesis with the lucid erudition for which he is famous. But one wonders if he has not oversimplified by treating Russia as wholly non-Western: after all, from an Asiatic point of view Russia has long been moving aggressively eastward. Moreover, for this reviewer, Mr. Toynbee's mildly cheerful conclusion was invalidated by the thought that what Christianity brought the Roman world was "not peace but a sword."

Lands of Poverty

WORLD WITHOUT END. By Emil Lengyel. John Day. $5. The story of the Middle East—its geography, people, history, and politics. The Poorhouse of the World with an average per capita annual income of between $50 and $100 and a life expectancy less than half of ours, this is a natural breeding ground for communism. Oil revenues amounting to nearly half a billion dollars a year are, so to speak, the deuces wild that make the outcome of the game even more unpredictable. A useful book for the layman who craves information about one of the most unsettled regions of the present world and wants his facts in simple and readable language.

Genius Tipped with Venom

THE MAN WHISTLER. By Hesketh Pearson. Harper. $3.75. Whistler is almost too good a subject. Retell the anecdotes, quote the wisecracks, and there is not room for much more in a shortish biographical essay. At any rate Mr. Pearson, whose very readable biographies of Shaw, Wilde, Disraeli, and others are well known, has not put much more into this almost too easily read book. Art criticism is definitely avoided, and though there are some rather perfunctory attempts to explain Whistler's truculence as the defense reaction of a man who knew that he was doomed to be misunderstood, they do not get very far. Yet there are less obvious problems that it might be interesting to discuss. Why is it that Wilde, who is supposed to have imitated him, nevertheless gives the impression that there is less malice than good humor and pure fun in even his most cutting remarks, while Whistler seemed to want to wound? And what, one wonders, does it mean that not only Whistler and Wilde but also a whole race of malicious dandified wits do nevertheless have recognizable traits in common? Of the two it was Whistler whose screaming, posturing extravagance most strongly suggests one familiar type of homosexual. Yet so far as the evidence goes or anything Mr. Pearson suggests he was sexually quite normal after the bohemian fashion.

English Panorama

THE GREEN MAN. By Storm Jameson. Harper. $3.95. This is one of those large, wandering panoramic novels, somewhat reminiscent of Galsworthy, about the changes in English life during the years 1930-1950. Accomplished, traditional in tone, pleasant to read, and finally rather disappointing as the literary record of a unique and civilized form of social revolution, it accomplishes just about what it set out to do—but not what might have been done with this theme.

Gaudy Rascals

THE LEGENDARY MIZNERS. By Alva Johnston. Farrar, Straus and Young. $3.75. Readers of the profiles of Addison and Wilson Mizner in the *New Yorker* will be pleased to know that these engaging articles have been brought together and put between covers. Addison, the more substantial and less rascally of the two brothers, inventor of what was known in the nineteen twenties as the Bastard-Spanish-Moorish - Romanesque - Gothic - Renaissance - Bull - Market - Damn - the - Expense style of architecture, wallowed at Palm Beach for a time in millionaire clients, some of them as flamboyantly mad as himself. Never has the gaudy tale of the Florida boom and bust been more amusingly told. Wilson was "fundamentally a confidence man whom circumstances occasionally induced to go straight." Among his more legitimate

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occupations were dealing faro in the Klondike, running a shady hotel in New York, managing prize fighters, and serving as treasurer of the Mizner Corporation which launched Boca Raton. What should have been his most successful coup, his marriage to the widow of Charles T. Yerkes, the traction magnate, seems to have netted him next to nothing. Prodigal of quips, he is today most often remembered for his immortal question "How do they know?" when told that Coolidge was dead. A rambling but delightful book.

Prague Since 1948

ANATOMY OF A SATELLITE. By Dana Adams Schmidt. Little, Brown. $5. A highly competent account of life in Communist Czechoslovakia by a New York *Times* correspondent who spent thirteen months in the country. Perhaps the best study yet published on the techniques used by the Communists to seize and hold power in a country with a profound democratic tradition. One will find in this volume not only the stories of Benes's surrender, Masaryk's death, and the Red putsch of 1948 but also an analysis of the methods used to control education, Russify culture, regiment labor, collectivize agriculture, and remilitarize the nation. Though both Gottwald and Slansky are now dead, Mr. Schmidt's detailed study of their fearsome struggle supplies a provocative explanation of new currents in the satellite world. Among the many virtues of this book are the author's reliance on Communist rather than hostile émigré sources, his word of caution to the West not to underestimate the economic achievements of communism, and finally his warning against loose talk of "liberating the enslaved peoples."

Native Chronicles

A MIRROR FOR AMERICANS. Vol. I, Life in the East; Vol. II, The Cotton Kingdom; Vol. III, The Frontier Moves West. Compiled and Edited by Warren S. Tryon. Chicago. $5 Each Volume or $14.50 the Set Boxed. Long before John Gunther, "inside America" was a favorite theme, and while many of the best-known works of this genre were by Europeans, there were plenty of American travelers with an itch to communicate. Believing that these native chronicles have been unduly neglected, Professor Tryon has compiled samples so as to illustrate life and manners in the United States between 1790 and 1870.

In these volumes we can find Southern views on the North, Northern observations about the South, Eastern comments on the still wild West, and even a few Western jeers at the effeminate East. Some of the excerpts are taken from books by such well-known authors as Horace Greeley, George Catlin the painter of Indians, Bayard Taylor, and Frederick Law Olmsted, an early contributor to *The Nation*. Others, and not the least interesting, are by men and women long forgotten. Many contemporary illustrations add to the value of this beautifully produced work.

Report on Israel

ISRAEL. By Norman Bentwich. McGraw-Hill. $3.75. Israel's story from the period of the mandate through 1952, told with grace, lucidity, and considerable objectivity. Mr. Bentwich discusses the terrain of Israel, the form of government, the mixed economy which prevails, the life of minority groups, and the objectives of the founders. While frankly pro-Israel, he does not hesitate to point out where accomplishments fail to live up to promises. He is particularly emphatic on the importance of establishing equal freedom and opportunity for the Arabs in Israel. But taken as a whole, the picture he paints is one of a dynamic people, committed to the democratic way of life and with a creative aspiration, and a good deal of achievement, in the field of culture.

An Amusing Life

THE LIFE AND ACTIVITIES OF SIR JOHN HAWKINS. MUSICIAN, MAGISTRATE AND FRIEND OF JOHNSON. By Percy A. Scholes. Oxford. $7. To the one person in ten to whom the name Sir John Hawkins means anything at all it means "a most *unclubable* man"—as Samuel Johnson called him. Other contemporaries tagged him with even more uncomplimentary phrases, but he did have the singular bad luck, first, to publish a three-thousand-page history of music almost simultaneously with Dr. Burney's much more popular one and then to write a biography of Dr. Johnson which came out only a few years before Boswell's swept it off the shelves. This entertaining life by the distinguished musicologist has much the same virtues as the author's much longer life of Burney published a few years ago. Hawkins's daughter kept a journal full of odd incidents, and Dr. Scholes has a wide antiquarian's knowledge of eighteenth century byways. Almost anything—the introduction of the Lombardy poplar into England, for instance—is likely to turn up and to be presented with humor. There are handsomely reproduced portraits of Hawkins and others.

Films

Manny Farber

IN EARLIER days Director Robert Wise revealed an interesting talent for working with dispiriting situations, keeping the story of their progress mounting to a maddening climax. He made a number of "sleepers" in this vein, so called because they had somehow turned out to be believable, skilful feature films, though made on little more than it now costs to feed the lions in "The Greatest Show on Earth." These films are evidence that it is quite possible to make movies on less money and more skill. Wise learned movie-making by working in various jobs on the lot; he edited some Lewton-produced horror films and directed "The Set Up." So it is somewhat disturbing to find that he, like some other artists who started out on good "sleepers," has progressed to making rather pointless "A" pictures.

His new film, "Destination Gobi," is such a step in the wrong direction. But while it is not first class, it is a workman-like job of film-making that flows like sand in an eggtimer and has some

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funny situations and adequate settings. It is an adventure story with Richard Widmark, in a customary frenzied role, establishing a weather station in the Gobi Desert. Its best quality is its rugged visualization of an eight-hundred-mile trek through enemy soldiers and suspicious Mongols, to the accompaniment of thirst, hunger, and all the usual trappings of a "never say die" movie. Well composed out of a succession of panoramic shots and fast action scenes, the film suffers from Wise's loss of contact with realism in acting. The characters of the weather observers are bombastic or comic swaggerers, and the Mongolian horsemen act like Western movie regulars.

Another director who has overreached his earlier talents is Alfred Hitchcock. As a movie pioneer, Hitchcock introduced imaginative sounds, fine character effects, and fleet economy. He brought you an everyday world that was as real as it was ominous ("The 39 Steps"). However, Hitchcock's new melodrama, "I Confess," has negated the realism to settle for the "effects." His mystery story is peopled with familiar suspense-film types—a sadistic detective, a suave prosecutor, an amoral scoundrel with a tidy but vapid wife—and laid among the crooked, elevated streets of Quebec. It does get a certain dramatic punch through the sensitive underplaying of Montgomery Clift as a young priest who, learning the identity of a murderer in the confessional booth, plays the remainder of the picture with sad compassion and locked lips. With a line like "We can do nothing," he spreads his hands with a quiet weariness that expresses the feeling of people caught in a rotten jam. For the most part, "I Confess" is a problemless piece of stagecraft in which the suspense, except for a quick twist at the end, is just so much decoration.

In the American spectacle class, frontiers division, "The President's Lady" is a studiously dull picture about wild young Andrew Jackson and the trouble he had with the divorce laws of his time. It is a triumph of histrionics over history, starring Charlton Heston and Susan Hayward. The only real contributions were made by an over-particular set designer, and by Leo Tover, director of photography.

Howard Hughes's "Angel Face" is a congested thriller that kills off all its actors with modern sports cars. Unlike many of Hughes's hard-working murder films, this one is too often verbal instead of visual, with a lot of time spent in a dimly lit boudoir where Robert Mitchum and Jean Simmons mutter forlornly and wear dressing gowns.

BOOK MANUSCRIPTS INVITED

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Records

B. H. Haggin

COLUMBIA'S new Modern American Music Series is a program for recording modern American chamber music selected by a composers' committee comprising Virgil Thomson as chairman, Aaron Copland, William Schuman, Henry Cowell, and Goddard Lieberson, executive vice-president of Columbia. Six records have been issued with the first group of works that the committee considers representative of "American music at its most distinguished and beautiful": Copland's Sextet for string quartet, clarinet, and piano (1937), originally his Short Symphony (1933), and Ellis Kohs's Chamber Concerto for viola and string nonet (1949) on ML 4492; Thomson's Stabat Mater for soprano and string quartet (1932) and "Capitals, Capitals" for four male singers and piano (1927), and Lou Harrison's Suite for cello and harp and Suite No. 2 for string quartet (1948) on ML 4491; Schuman's String Quartet No. 4 (1950) and Ingolf Dahl's Concerto a tre for clarinet, violin, and cello (1947) on ML 4493; Douglas Moore's Quintet for clarinet and strings (1946), and Wallingford Riegger's String Quartet No. 2 (1948) on ML 4494; Walter Piston's Sonatina for violin and harpsichord (1945), and John Cage's String Quartet (1950) on ML 4495; and Charles Ives's Piano Sonata No. 1 (1902-1909) on ML 4490. The works were recorded under their composers' supervision by the Juilliard and New Music Quartets, Schneider and Kirkpatrick, Jennie Tourel, and a number of other excellent musicians.

In most of these works I hear the ability to fill out time with musical sounds—if only by setting a rhythmic figure going and keeping it rattling along for the number of minutes required by an allegro movement (Copland, Piston, Moore). But I don't hear anything I would call beautiful (though the second movement of the Moore Quintet is rather pretty), or distinguished, or moving as musical communication, or impressive even as musical construction. On the contrary, apart from the precisely contrived delicacies of sonority and melody in the Harrison Suite for harp and cello, much of the writing is for me in varying degrees unpleasant in sound (Schuman, Dahl, Riegger, Kohs); some of it conveys no coherent musical sense to me (Schuman,

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Dahl, Riegger, Kohs); and some of the incoherent writing seems to me the product of extreme eccentricity of mind (Ives, Cage).

I should add that the Copland and Thomson pieces disappointed expectations based on my experiences of other works by these composers. Copland's Sextet is spoken of as one of his major works; but to me its frenetic manipulation of jagged motifs in the fast movements and its forced, distorted lyricism in the slow movement are unattractive and unimpressive. Thomson's Stabat Mater is written in a French vocal style that I don't care for even in the original. And his "Capitals, Capitals" is like a preliminary try-out of the method of setting Gertrude Stein words that he used with such delightful results in his operas—a try-out in which the words and their musical treatment in vocal recitative and piano comment haven't enough variety and richness to hold interest for more than two or three of the work's twenty minutes.

Copland's Sextet belongs to a period when he was writing that kind of music. One of the enjoyable works of the period that followed, his score for the Ballet "Rodeo," has been recorded by a Ballet Theater orchestra under the direction of Ballet Theater's conductor, Joseph Levine (Capitol); and except for the opening Buckaroo Holiday, which is too long and uninteresting without the dancing, it is a pleasure to hear. The performance is good. On the same record is a raucous performance of Leonard Bernstein's brash score for "Fancy Free," which also is too long without the dancing.

Mozart's Sonatas K.454 and 481 for piano and violin—works notable for their beautiful slow movements—have been recorded by Charles Rosen and Reinhold Peters (London); and what makes the performances painful to listen to is Peters's violin-playing, which is extraordinarily unpleasant in sound and pedestrian in phrasing and style. Rosen's playing, on the other hand, has its characteristic vitality; but it comes off the record dull in sound and heavily percussive. And one hears in the joint performances nothing of the ensemble subtleties and perfections that were so delightful in the Solti-Kulenkampff performance of K.454 which London issued on 78 a few years ago, and that are carried to sheer incandescence in the Kraus-Goldberg performance of K.481 on the Decca LP.

Beethoven's Quartets Opus 18 Nos. 1 and 2—the first a more engaging early work than the second—are played very beautifully by the Paganini Quartet (RCA Victor); and the recorded sound of the performances is warm and natural, and more agreeable to the ear than the cold, hard sound of the recent Budapest Quartet performances.

Art Notes

JOSEPH GLASCO's third one-man show is a collection of strongly expressionist paintings, sculpture, and drawings. His "landscape-heads" are a curious fusion of featureless portraits and landscapes that are superimposed on either the head or torso of his subjects. Rich colors and textures play an important role.—*Viviano to April 18.*

FREDDY HOMBURGER, doctor and scientist, is having his first one-man show. He is the doctor who treated Raoul Dufy, and he has always enjoyed painting as an avocation. He works in gouache, and his water colors are scenes of Mexico, the Maine Coast, Zurich and Paris.—*Carstairs to April 18.*

LOUIS EVAN is having his second one-man show of subtly colored semi-abstractions based on city scenes.—*A. F. I. to April 30.*

LOUISE BOURGEOIS exhibits twenty black-and-white drawings that are studies for her sculptures. There are also three life-size figures done in a narrow, elongated, semi-abstract style. —*Peridot to April 25.*

MARK BAUM has exhibited in several one-man and group shows. His new oils, done in a stark realistic manner, portray coal-mining scenes in Pennsylvania.—*Salpeter to April 18.*

JOHN WHORF, popular Academician, is showing a group of water colors—sporting scenes, marines, and landscapes of Maine. His colors are bright and transparent; his style is traditional.—*Milch to April 25.*

Letters

Boston Liked "Limelight"

Dear Sirs: In your issue of March 21 William Murray discussed the treatment of Charlie Chaplin's "Limelight" by those who are opposed to its being shown. I should like to suggest that the situation is not quite so bad as he portrayed it, although it certainly is appalling. Mr. Murray could not be expected to mention every city where "Limelight" was or was not shown, but he mentions no city where it had a really successful run. In Boston, "Limelight" played at only one theater, which I believe is independent, but it remained there for some seven or eight weeks, with houses ranging from good to packed. . . .

Brookline, Mass. MARK MICHELSON

The Harrison Affair

Dear Sirs: It was with great interest that I read Nearly Everybody Swears in Harrison, which appeared in your February 21 issue. David Clinton, a Harrison commuter, correctly states that action has been instituted before the New York State Commissioner of Education to compel the rescission of the oath required. I am the attorney for the citizens of Harrison who instituted this proceeding, and we are now awaiting an oral hearing before the Commissioner on a date to be fixed by him. Mr. Clinton is incorrect, however, in his statement that New York's Feinberg law requires all teachers to sign a loyalty oath or, as I prefer to call it, a non-disloyalty oath. The law itself and the regulations issued by the Board of Regents and the Commissioner of Education explicitly provide how it is to be enforced—and nowhere is there any requirement of an oath by teachers, or other school employees, or any other persons. . . .

New York PAUL BAUMAN

Soliloquy on Soliloquy

Dear Sirs: Melvin H. Bernstein's Soliloquy (*The Nation,* February 28) on the sad plight of college professors brought no tears to my eyes. During my own four years of college I saw too many of the spineless creatures parading as intellectual giants. They droned, they bored, they threatened with D's and F's those who did not agree,

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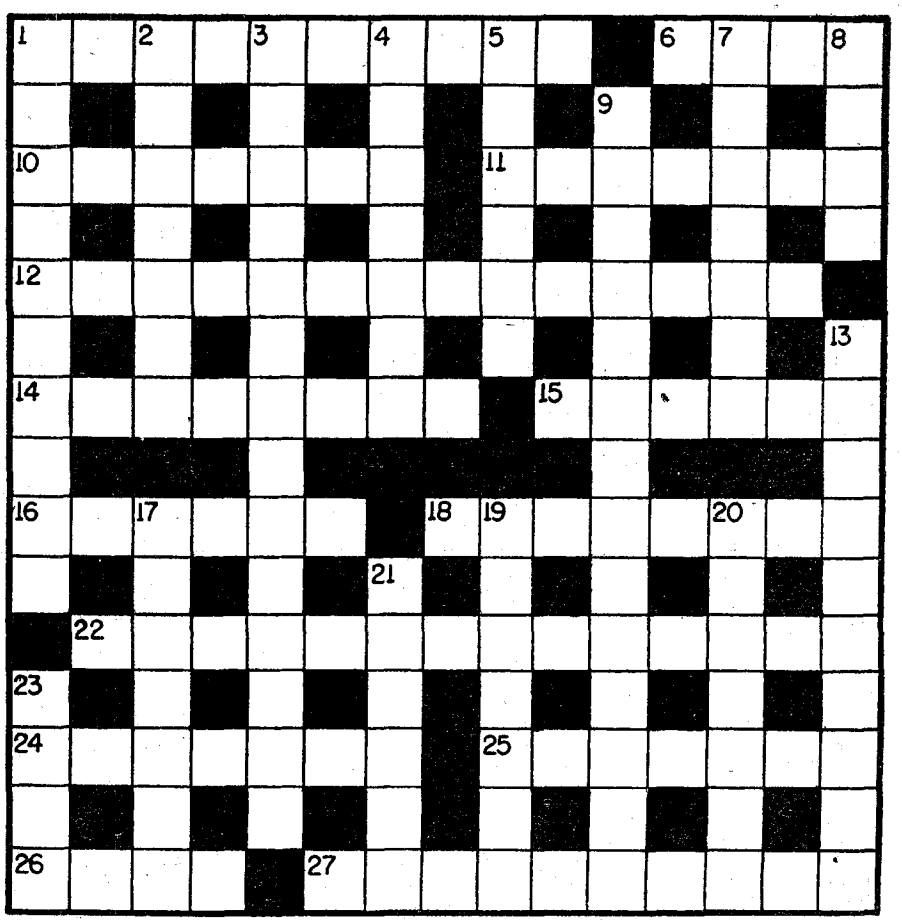

ACROSS

1 What does a railroad inspector do? Obliges. (10)
6 The area of 18 is not included in this shoal. (4)
10 No weapons, hence not dangerous if you 18 it. (7)
11 This isn't how to make an outburst in spirited vein! (7)
12 Star performer in the Civil War and World War II. (7, 7)
14 Proper in Scotland, but in Germany, English want to return the latter. (8)
15 and 23 down. Spreads part of the body out in stellar regions, perhaps. (5, 5)
16 Change ringing on a bell's names? (6)
18 How to make a snake angry? (Not exactly hiss, however.) (8)
22 Responsible for the upkeep of dress rather than undress uniform. (8, 6)
24 A bar, for example, near 22. (7)
25 Not held by the amateur model, the way one might suggest. (7)
26 Backbones for a clue? It's only fair. (2-2)
27 Enduring and relative, in a way, when confined around it. (10)

DOWN

1 One way to make the first one killed inconstant. (10)
2 What belongs to me is in a bad one, put up for something. (7)
3 Land of fire—you might extract ore, if regulated. (6, 3, 5)
4 Pardon for the unsolitary 20, to get an answer as well. (7)
5 Through sound reasoning, they suggest the nose of a horse, rather than its eyes. (6)
7 This sort of crop is a very ordinary one. (7)
8 Is it a row that makes the score equal? (4)
9 Is economy in them wise and s. o. p. in pro patria? (14)
13 The sort of mess to agree about, even if we don't agree with the official one. (10)
17 You might confuse these in the degree of orders. (7)
19 A form of the verb of 27—one might be 24. (7)
20 Seafood for the solitary mariner? (7)
21 Notice this place? (You could form an attachment thus.) (6)
23 See 15 across.

• ✻ •

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 510

ACROSS:—1 PICKWICK PAPERS; 9 ERMINED; 10 OSMANLI; 11 SCRUFF; 12 INVADING; 14 CALORIC; 15 PARMA; 17 TERMS; 19 SHAMPOO; 21 DISAVOWS; 23 CRETAN; 25 GRIEVED; 26 MALTESE; 27 WINDOW SHOPPING.

DOWN:—1 PEEP SIGHT; 2 CAMBRIC; 3 WINDFALLS; 4 CODE; 5 PHOENICIAN; 6 PEMBA; 7 RENTIER; 13 GRASS WIDOW; 15 PAPER CLIP; 16 ALBAN BERG; 18 ROSSINI; 20 and 8 OF THEE I SING; 21 DOGS; 22 VIVID; 24 AMAH.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, New York.

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they remained aloof, they could not combine ideality with reality. Are these the men that the population must rescue from witch-hunting?

I can count on my two hands the professors I knew who would stand up and fight in the face of opposition. They were strong men, morally and mentally. They were fair in their criticism and grading. For this type of man I will fight to the bitter end.

Were I a teacher threatened with such tactics as Mr. Bernstein outlines, I would say: "To hell with McCarthy and his fascist witch-hunters!" I would rather starve to death than know that I was a coward who had to cry to the people: "Save me! Save me! The Big Bad Wolf is coming."

Houston, Tex. BILL STALNAKER

Sinnott Misquoted

Dear Sirs: I was about halfway through Edmund W. Sinnott's "Two Ways to Truth" when the February 21 issue of *The Nation* arrived with its new book section. I was quite startled by the statement attributed to Sinnott: "The brotherhood of man will come only if the fatherhood of God is recognized. Moral problems will never be solved unless they are treated as part of the structure of the universe." It did not sound like Mr. Sinnott. However, I continued to read "Two Ways to Truth" and today came upon the source of your reviewer's quotation. Actually it is not Mr. Sinnott speaking but a hypothetical "Christian moralist." . . .

DONNA M. DICKINSON

Los Alamos, N. M.

[Our reviewer can only plead guilty, and apologize for his carelessness. In casting back through the book for a sentence or two which would illustrate what seemed to him a certain weakness in the final chapters, he failed to notice the cautionary phrase at the beginning of the paragraph from which he quoted. —EDITORS THE NATION.]

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